1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

must seek brides in different families, and daughters must be married into different families. Only in the case of the death of a married son or of a married daughter of one family or the other is a second marriage, through levirate, possible.

Of course, if the nature of the Koryak levirate has for its purpose the strengthening of family alliances, it may be asked why a widower cannot marry his deceased wife's elder sister, or why a widow cannot become the wife of her deceased husband's elder brother. I have put the question, but to my regret I have received no satisfactory answer from the Koryak. Personally I think that in this case the legal position of the elder brother in the family supersedes the considerations of blood-relationship. When father or mother die or become too old, the eldest brother and eldest sister take their places. By force of this position, sexual intercourse of the eldest brother (who enjoys the right of agnate) with his sister-in-law, or of the eldest sister with her brother-in-law, seems to be imagined to be the same kind of incest as the cohabitation of a father with his daughter-in-law or of a mother with her son-in-law.

I will add here a few details illustrating the application of the levirate in the every-day life of the modern Koryak. From these it appears that in several places this custom is coming to lose vigor and to assume the form of a right instead of involving an obligation. Attention must also be drawn to the subjection of woman in this custom. In Kamenskoye I was told that a younger brother may marry his eldest brother's widow, or a younger sister of his deceased wife, while in other places they must do it. On the other hand, if disinclined, the relatives may not give a widow or deceased wife's younger sister to her brother-in-law in marriage. From this it is evident that in Kamenskoye the custom leaves to either side, if such be desired, the choice of not renewing the family union by a new marriage.

But if the nearest relatives of a woman have died, and she has thus lost her natural protectors, the widower or brother-in-law can enforce the observance of the levirate against her will. However, men rarely make use of this right. Shortly before my arrival, an elder in Kamenskoye (Opilli by name) had lost his wife and eldest brother. The wife of the latter, with her children, went to his home to live; but when asked whether he had married her, he answered that as yet she was not ready to do so. I know of another case from the village Kamenskoye, where a Koryak, married to a young woman, received into his house two old widows, the wives of his deceased elder brother, but he did not live with them because they were too old.

I met with a similar case on the Paren River. A Koryak, Ewpicō, who had a young wife, had taken his uncle's widow into his house, but did not live with her, as she was sickly.

In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the exist-